5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was made possible through my appointment as an assistant to the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oregon. I was commissioned to write a report for a project directed by Professor H. G. Barnett, entitled 'A Comparative Study of Culture Change and Stability in Displaced Communities in the Pacific'. This commission enabled my wife and myself to visit the Northern District of Papua for one year. I also received help from the Canada Council and the Killam Foundation.

I should acknowledge here the contribution made to this research by my wife, Mrs. Ziska Schwimmer, who not only bore with it but made many valuable observations which have been incorporated in this work. Among others who were helpful, kind, encouraging and inspiring in the field I should mention: Dr. R. Crocombe, executive officer of the New Guinea Research Unit of the A.N.U.; Miss Nancy White, a missionary and collector of valuable Orokaiva texts; Mr. M. Lean, head teacher of the Sasembata mission school; Dr. A. Radford, director of the Saiho hospital; Mr. C. Searle, a planter of Awala; their wives; and many other individuals attached to the mission and the administration.

My Papuan interpreters, research assistants and chief informants were the following: Mr. Stephen Oriri of Inonda; Messrs. Harold Heru, John Douglas and Brian Orua of Hohorita; Messrs. Robert Nanisi and Leon Bhagi and Miss Patricia Jove, of Sivepe; the Rev. Albert McLaren of Sasembata mission station, and Mr. Walter Waki of Popondetta. I owe a very special debt to Mr. Cromwell Burau who stayed with me for three weeks and communicated to me some of his deep insight into Orokaiva culture: and to Samuel Jovareka, our Orokaiva father, of Sivepe.

I should like to thank also some of the scholars who, for better or for worse, have helped in the development of this work by their encouragement, criticism and information; in alphabetical order: Dr. Homer G. Barnett, Dr. Cyril S. Belshaw, Dr. Kenelm O. L. Burridge, Dr. A. Capell, Dr. Peter Carstens, Dr. Jan Pouwer and Mr. Adrian Tanner. Finally I would thank the Social Sciences Division, Scarborough College, University of Toronto, for excellent secretarial services.

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125 interviews, expressed opinions, and other relevant data. Daily meteorological observations were made in Sivepe village.

121 The survey was conducted over three separate periods during
101 1964-65: 3 February to 3 May, 20 July to 30 August,[1] and 9 November to 3 January. These periods were selected, on the basis of avail-
101 able rainfall data and information in earlier Northern District studies, to cover supposed seasonal variations in weather and hence variations in the intensity of different social and economic activi-
101 ties.[2] Due to the intensive nature of the enquiry, it proved difficult to extend day-to-day investigation beyond two months.

101 In addition, the researchers spent some time in the Northern District and Port Moresby collecting demographic and economic statistics, information on marketing facilities and the policies and activities of the external agencies operating in Popondetta sub-district. This information was designed to place the selected villages in a regional perspective.

114 The gathering of field data was shared equally between the
128 authors, with Waddell working in Sivepe village and Krinks in Inonda; each is therefore responsible for the sections specifically dealing with his respective village. Joint responsibility is assumed for Part I but the preambles and discussions in Parts II and III and the whole of Part IV are attributable to Waddell.

Acknowledgments

128 The study was made possible by a generous grant from the Rural Credits Fund of the Reserve Bank of Australia. In the execution of
122 it the authors owe their principal debt to the residents of Sivepe and Inonda villages for their patience and co-operation over a period of more than seven months when they were exposed to often seemingly indiscreet daily observation and questioning. Vivid memories are retained of their hospitality and friendship. Amongst
114 them Mr Stephen Oriri was pre-eminent. The important role played by our Orokaiva assistants, Messrs Kephas Gibobo, Walter Sivure and Nigel Tiriembo, must also be acknowledged.

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1 In the case of Inonda, no data were collected in the tenth week of the first period, and the second period was from 27 July to 6 September.

2 It is appreciated that this is an arbitrary basis if one considers the concept of a year to be valid only in terms of seasonality of climate. The various facets of social and economic activities might operate on cycles of different and varying lengths, as evidenced by the 'pig cycles' of the New Guinea highlands.

Preface

125 In this study, carried out between February and April 1963, [101] seven groups of adult male Orokaiva were tested using a culture-fair test of cognitive ability. There were 20 men in each group, making a total sample of 140.

153 Differences were found between some of the groups; one village obtained significantly higher test results than the other groups and another significantly lower test scores than all others except one.

Some of the total samples were divided into three groups according to productivity or ownership of cash crop trees. There was found to be a significant difference between groups. Those who were most productive tended to have the higher test scores.

128 A principal components factor analysis revealed three factors. Tentative identification suggests a memory factor, a gestalt factor and a less certain third factor.

●122 Gratitude is expressed to the New Guinea Research Unit of the School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, for the financial support which covered field expenses and the cost of travel to Papua.

114 Special thanks are due to Mr Cromwell Burau of the staff of the Unit whose company, assistance and help matched with his special skills made the field work so profitable and enjoyable.

Gratitude is also expressed to Mr I.G. Ord, Chief Psychologist of the Public Service Commission in Port Moresby, for his interest and encouragement in this project. It was his initial research that developed the test and made this project possible.

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10: Dakeyne K-S (1962-1964) 1966 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Yega
Ononda

continues, a pattern of farmsteads set in consolidated, individual holdings may well replace today's villages and hamlets with their fragmented, widely-scattered landholdings. 361 178

Acknowledgments

This paper is portion of a wider study of Yega land use and settlement. The author gratefully acknowledges assistance and advice from colleagues in Australia, from officers of the Administration in Papua and from members of the A.N.U. New Guinea Research Unit. Field work was financed by research grant from the University of Sydney. 128 122

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Foreword

121 This paper is concerned with an experiment initiated in 1964 in
423 the Northern District of Papua in which land previously held under customary tenure has been converted to registered individual title in accordance with the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963. Three main aspects of conversion were examined:

(i) the motivations and expectations of the people at one of the first conversion schemes, Ombi-Tara;

(ii) the effects of conversion on productivity, land use, residence patterns, work organisation, and social life at Ombi-Tara;

(iii) the cost to the government per acre and per block (i.e. farm) of tenure conversion in the Northern District.

127 Much of the data on the costs of conversion was collected from
124 official files. Where recorded information was not available, estimates based on interviews were used. The body of the Ombi-Tara data as set out in Chapters 3 and 4 was gained from personal interviews carried out between 9 January and 11 February 1966. During
● 122 these periods my assistants and I lived in the single men's house in Ombi village.

124 All males over the age of fifteen resident at Ombi-Tara were
115 interviewed with the exception of one old man. In addition we interviewed two 'outsiders' who have applied for blocks in the Ombi-Tara scheme. One is a man of the main clan at Ombi (Mumu) who now lives in a neighbouring village but intends to move to Ombi soon. The other is a Papuan Agricultural Assistant who is stationed at Ombi but whose home village is near Cape Killerton about forty miles away. Interviews were conducted in the local language through interpreters.

128 Interviewing has serious defects. The answers one gets can only be as good as the questions asked. Although we followed up all answers with probes and long, informal discussions, talking is a poor substitute for rigorous and sustained observation over a
[121] period of years. The only justification for using this method is that time was short, and that this paper is intended only as an exploratory attempt to examine the operation of the 1963 land tenure conversion legislation in the only district where it has so far been applied.

17: Morawetz U-4,5 (1966) 1967 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Ombi-Tara

I am indebted to the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University for generous financial assistance. I wish to thank the Chief Commissioner of Land Titles (Mr D.J. Kelliher) and members of the Commission in Popondetta and Port Moresby; officers of the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries in Popondetta, and of the Department of District Administration in Popondetta, who discussed various aspects of the project and assisted me in every possible way; Mr Cromwell Bureu, Mr Russell Clarke and Mr Napier Boraba who helped greatly by interpreting both Orokaiva language and culture; Mrs Yvonne McMahon who typed a manuscript which was at times barely legible; and the Ombi-Tara villagers whose warmth, hospitality and enthusiastic co-operation made our stay so enjoyable. Helpful comments on an earlier draft were made by Dr R.G. Crocombe, Mr E.K. Fisk, Mr G.R. Hogbin, Dr R.T. Shand, Mrs S. Faircloth and Mr W. Standish. I am particularly grateful to Dr R.G. Crocombe, Executive Officer of the New Guinea Research Unit, for his advice and encouragement at all stages of the project.

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[124]
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18: Dakeyne K-5 3 (1962-1964) 1969
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega

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000 The Author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the following persons and organizations:

The Departments of District Administration, Lands, Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries of Papua-New Guinea and their field officers in Northern Papua and Bougainville; missionaries of the Anglican Mission (Papua), the Roman Catholic and Seventh Day Adventists Mission (Bougainville); Dr D. G. Bettison and Dr R. G. Crocombe of the New Guinea Research Unit, Port Moresby, and Miss Dawn Ryan, now of the East-West Center Hawaii.

122 The University of Sydney, the ANU New Guinea Research Unit and Conzinc Riotinto of Australia Ltd., provided financial assistance to cover the costs of field work.

128 Friends and colleagues who read the draft and offered helpful criticisms are Dr H. I. Hogbin, Department of Anthropology and Dr D. N. Jeans, Department of Geography, Sydney University, Mr C. D. Rowley, Director, Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and Mr N. D. Oram, New Guinea Research Unit, Australian National University. Messrs K. O. Clifford and B. McGee gave valuable help with the illustrations.

000 I wish to acknowledge especially, my debt to Mr Oram whose research findings were used extensively in the chapter on Port Moresby. For the opinions expressed however, I accept responsibility.

128 Special thanks are accorded to Mrs Susan Levine for her help in the arduous task of typing and checking the manuscript.
[p.40-B]

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

NOTES

The data presented here were gathered in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea in summer 1970 with the help of a research grant from the Canada Council. The paper was first presented at a seminar at the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. I thank faculty and students at that seminar for their comments, which have led to clarifications of the text.

[1] This article does not discuss what I believe semiotic anthropology to be and what is its relation to French structuralism. The reader is referred to Schwimmer 1977.

[2] It was suggested to me that 'translation rules' may be what Peirce called 'motivations'. Upon reflection, I would suggest that all the constitutive rules of ritualised prestations are concerned with motivations. For instance, taros displayed on a platform at a wedding could be regarded as motivated signs because they are conspicuously part of an 'institution'. If we need a semiotic analogy for 'translation rules', we might say they specify the relation between expression form and expression content in Hjelmslev's sense (1963), where the prestation as message is the expression form and the sentiment immanent in the prestation is the expression content.

[3] MacCormack (1975) rightly remarked on the gap in my monograph (Schwimmer 1973) in respect of the Orokaiva's own rules about reciprocity. There was no reason to expect that he should have been aware that I presented a paper about these rules (Schwimmer 1970). The present article incorporates the main data of that paper, as well as of a later paper presented in Paris in 1974, on the occasion of a conference of French and Canadian ethnographers at the Musée des Arts Populaires.

[4] Two tribes neighbouring Orokaiva have myths concerning figures closely resembling Javaite Poromo, but far from being simple moral tales, these are elaborate myth cycles whose heroes, Wasis for the Ai'i and Ine for the Omie, are said to be the principal exemplars for the 'big man' system in those tribes. Data on these myth cycles were gathered by two Toronto graduate students, namely T. N. Barker for the Ai'i and M. Rohatynskyj for the Omie.

[5] See for instance Fortune (1935) for Manus and Meggitt (1967: 1971) for Mae Enga.

[6] The story is in F. E. Williams's Notebooks now stored in the government archives at Port Moresby and the property of the government of Papua New Guinea. Cf. Notebook W 56 for 1923, quoted in Schwimmer 1973: 140.

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121 broader view of the social consequences of the eruption, and therefore included a third village, Hohorita, which lies at the centre of the area most deeply affected by the calamity. Sivepa, lying West of the volcano, escaped the full blast of the explosion; Inonda, to the East, was not directly affected at all, but Hohorita is a village made up of the survivors from Sangara villages situated in the blast area. Hohorita, as well as Kiorota which I visited briefly, has a far larger population than Orokaiva villages normally contain; these people were brought together, as a result of government organisation immediately after the eruption, from more than a dozen of the destroyed villages, comprise more than a dozen clans and constitute a new type of residential unit the origin of which may be directly traced to the eruption. Both Hohorita and Kiorota are situated on land owned by one of the constituent clans. With over 400 inhabitants, they face serious problems of factionalism. The government, which had an active hand in fostering them, had hoped they would solve basic problems of Orokaiva social fragmentation. In fact, one may almost say that the large consolidated village was a principal aim of government planning for the persons displaced by the eruption. Hence, it seems necessary to include consideration of this residential form in the present study.

101 Of the 12 months spent in the Territory of Papua, my wife and I lived in Orokaiva villages for more than 10 months, dividing the rest of the time between Port Moresby and the administrative centre of Popondetta. Most of the field period was spent in Sivepa, [122] with three weeks in Inonda and five weeks in Hohorita. In Inonda we made use of a house previously used by the New Guinea Research Unit; in Sivepa a village house was built for us while at Hohorita we were squatting in an uncompleted village house--an unsatisfactory arrangement which accounts, in part, for the brevity of our stay. [114] Fortunately, we had extremely competent research assistance at [124] Hohorita, after we stopped residing there. The head teacher, Mr. Harold Heru, prepared extremely good genealogical records, showing residence of matrilateral and affinal kin as well as clan structure and residence.

123 The basic source of the material that follows are my own field notes. These are supplemented by government records, the 129 publications on the Orokaiva and the eruption published by F. E. Williams, Reay, Belshaw, Keesing, Crocombe, Hogbin, Rimbidi, Waddell. I also collected tape recordings containing 50 basic 126 documents in the Orokaiva language; transcriptions in Orokaiva and translations into English are available. A number of Europeans 115 who were concerned with the administration of the temporary refugee camps were interviewed, including Dr. Gunther, Mr. F. Kaad, Mr. C. 127 Searle, Mr. R. Hart and others too numerous to mention. Miss Nancy White, a mission teacher at Hohorita, apart from giving other help, put at my disposal a valuable collection of her diary notes, important letters written to her and Orokaiva texts collected at the Sasembata mission school in the years 1952 - 1953.

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

cognitive system. For the most part, however, I was concerned with microprocesses, such as the simultaneous development of explanatory systems based respectively on a tribal, Cargo Cult, and church-administration ideology. None of these ideologies was generated by the eruption, but the eruption was treated as a sign within the context of each of these ideologies, with a different interpretation in each case.

The eruption became a sign because it took its place in a series of ongoing transactions with supernatural beings. As such it had the effect of changing the relationships with these beings in regard to both duties and expectations. The eruption differed from other such signs mainly by its cataclysmic character and its unequivocal demonstration of power. The fact that different interpretations evolved is not an accident but mirrors an ongoing debate within the society. The evidence suggests that cognitive structures do not change by a process of unilineal development but by a process of internal differentiation opening up a dialectic between ideologies opposed to one another along the axes of basic social conflicts. In the Orokaiva case these axes were tribalism/regionalism and denial/acceptance of the partnership with European power. If opposition exists along these two axes, four systems are theoretically possible—namely, tribalism + denial, tribalism + acceptance, regionalism + denial, and regionalism + acceptance. As we have seen, each of these four combinations was found in actuality. The four Orokaiva theories thus form a well-structured whole, and together they express contemporary Orokaiva social reality. The structural changes that were taking place in the period 1951 to 1966 did not come out overtly in discourse but had been recognized and given meaning in terms of the ideologies in 1966.

NOTES

I acknowledge with gratitude financial help received from the Displaced Communities Project, the Canada Council, and the Killam Foundation in the preparation of this chapter. I thank Michael Lieber for his valuable comments on the original draft, which stimulated me to clarify and expand my arguments, and Sandra Wallman for her comments and criticisms. My wife, Ziska Schwimmer, gave valuable assistance in the interviewing of female informants in the sample communities. This chapter was written before independence for New Guinea became a reality.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Part III

Friendship and Kinship: An Attempt to Relate Two Anthropological Concepts[1]

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Erik Schwimmer

THE PROBLEM OF A DEFINITION OF FRIENDSHIP

121 A universally applicable definition of friendship is difficult to arrive at. Nonetheless, the sentiments attached to the concept of friendship have, to anyone with anthropological experience in non-Western societies, the appearance of being universal. But even if the sentiments are universal, it is impossible to designate categories of persons, recognized in all cultures, between whom the sentiments of friendship normally prevail. The term 'friend' is, in many languages, non-existent or indistinguishable from 'kinsman.'

One may argue, as Paine has done (this volume, pp. 117–37), that friendship is a relationship found only in societies of a certain type. Thus, friendship would be personal and private and have characteristics such as autonomy, unpredictability, and terminality. Paine argues that societies which have friendship in this sense tend to be technologically advanced and complex in their socio-political structures. While one can find no scholarly objections to this approach, it leaves unsolved the question which concerns me in this essay: can we find a definition of friendship such that the symbolic idioms in which the sentiments of friendship are expressed in all cultures can be comparatively analysed?

Clearly, we cannot do so directly as these symbolic idioms are part of a vast variety of classificatory systems found in different societies and the place of friendship in these systems depends on their overall arrangement. We can, however, start from a universal type of association which is initiated by mutual attraction and which is maintained by the exchange of intrinsic benefits (benefits arising solely or largely out of the association itself). We can then inquire whether there is a universal relation between this phenom-

101 122 [114]

1 This essay is based on research carried out in the Northern District of Papua in 1966–7 and 1970 (with the financial help of the Canada Council and of the *Project for the Comparative Study of Cultural Change and Stability in Displaced Communities in the Pacific*, directed by Dr. H. G. Barnett). My wife, Ziska, helped in data collection, especially for the section on *jao* relationships. Dr. T. F. S. McFeat and Mr. A. Tanner read the manuscript and made useful suggestions.

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Conclusion

This paper has been an exercise in semiotic anthropology. Semiotics has always been a part of anthropology (cf. Schwimmer 1977b), but we are becoming more conscious about it and borrowing some methods. We therefore set up a domain, consisting of two sets of oppositions (use value/exchange value; identification/alienation) which seemed to be in some need of clarification. We broke the domain down to its modalities and as a result, I hope, clarified a number of Orokaiva concepts of 'work' – all a little unexpected, probably, and certainly not clear to myself until I began analysis in the form described here. Moreover, the two oppositions that formed the frame have become a little clearer too.

Semiotic anthropology has a limited role, but this role is precisely what has been attempted here: clarifying concepts. I might have made up an abstract model from the modalities and the categories but refrained as it would have added little. I have tried to make the connections visible: semiotics does not compose master schemes, it decomposes them.

Notes

1. Fieldwork done in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea (1966–67, 1970, 1973) and used as basis for the present discussion was supported by grants from the Canada Council.

2. This statement was made to me by Councillor Colin in a taped oration held in Torogota in 1966. His words: '*Iji aramiko ambo ainge esoru. Amina pure mo iumbae. Amora pure re Keriso na ikena umbasi ea avo.*'

3. Melanesian time allocation studies have recently been the subject of a detailed economic analysis (Kirkpatrick 1977). It is of interest that the field studies of time allocation which were given the highest "subjective rating" (ibid. Table 6.1) were Waddell (1972) and Waddell and Krinks (1968). The latter study was conducted in the Orokaiva villages of Ionda and Sivepe, where I myself did intensive research some years later, on a different subject. As I have already published a detailed commentary on the Waddell and Krinks study (Schwimmer 1969: 144–152), I say little about it here. It is, however, highly relevant to a conceptual study such as the present one.

4. M. Panoff reports that *kuma*, in the sense of subsistence activities, took up an average of four hours per day among the Maenge. He mentions no cash crops. Kirkpatrick's statistics (1977, Table 6.3) show that the mean time spent per man on all agricultural tasks in nine Melanesian villages is about 22 hours per week. One may thus assume that Panoff's figure refers to all tasks making up agricultural activity in Melanesian time allocation studies. But what is here meant by 'activity'? As we show in the present article, it includes not only the main and ancillary agricultural